

501
- 8

CROSSLAND

Position of Illinois Men
in Congress
on Territorial Expansion
1840-61

History
A. B.

1901

Learning and Labor.
LIBRARY
OF THE
University of Illinois.
CLASS. BOOK. VOLUME.
1901 C8
Accession No.





The Position of Illinois Men in Congress on Questions of
Territorial Expansion from 1840 to 1861

... BY ...

GEORGE MARSHALL CROSSLAND

THESIS

For the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

COLLEGE OF LITERATURE AND ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

PRESENTED JUNE 1, 1901



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

<http://archive.org/details/positionofillino00cros>

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

May 31

1901

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

George Marshall Crossland

ENTITLED

*The Position of Illinois Men in Congress
on Questions of Territorial Expansion from 1840 to 1861.*

IS APPROVED BY ME AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

Bachelor of Arts

Everts B. Greene

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF

History

The questions of territorial expansion from 1840--1861 were questions of very vital importance to this country because they were concerned with a vast amount of fertile, productive lands which were overflowing with natural resources, and which were holding very commanding positions beyond our southern and western frontiers. These acquisitions had great significance in connection with our commerce, with our agriculture, and with our political position among the powers, because, through them, our commercial advantages and our agricultural resources would be augmented greatly and our standing among the nations of the world would be raised to an equality with the leaders. These acquisitions, or rather attempts at acquisition, for several of them were miserable failures, were concerned with the territories of Texas, Oregon, California and New Mexico, Lower California, Panama, Nicaragua, Cuba, and that included in the Gadsden purchase.

The period of time which I am to treat is very broad and extensive. For the purpose of simplification and clearness, I have divided it into two sub-periods, 1840--1846 and 1846--1861. This division is based upon the importance of the questions, both as they appeared to the United States from a material point of view, and as they appealed to the Illinois Congressmen. The two great questions were treated and discussed during the same time and were settled finally in the same year. The minor questions followed at different intervals after that time. This year was 1846. These two great questions were those concerned with Texas and Oregon.

The Illinois men in Congress who dealt with these questions, together with their tenure of office, the places from which they

were elected, and their political beliefs were as follows:-

Senators.

¹

1. R. M. Young, --1837--43, Democrat, Belleville
2. S. McRoberts, --1841--43, Democrat, Waterloo.
3. S. Breese, --1843--49, Democrat, Carlyle.
4. J. Semple, --1843--47, Democrat, Alton.

Representatives.

1. J. Reynolds, --1839--43, Democrat, Belleville.
2. Z. Casey, --1839--43, Democrat, Mt. Vernon.
3. J. F. Stuart, --1839--43, Whig, Springfield.
4. R. Smith, --1843--49, Democrat, Alton.
5. J. A. McClernand, --1843--49, Democrat, Shawneetown.
6. O. R. Ficklin, --1843--49, Democrat, Charleston.
7. J. Wentworth, --1843--49, Democrat, Chicago.
8. S. A. Douglas, --1843--47, Democrat, Quincy.
9. J. Hoge, --1843--45, Democrat, Galena.
10. J. J. Hardin, --1843--45, Whig, Jacksonville,
11. W. A. Richardson, --1845--47, Democrat, Rushville.
12. E. D. Baker, --1845--47, Whig, Springfield.

Senator Breese and Representatives Douglas, Hardin, and Ficklin were the only men who took a very active interest in the first question to be settled once for all, that concerned with Texas.

¹

Moses:-History of Illinois, II, Page 1198--1200.

1

At the beginning of the last century Texas, together with her sister province Coahuila, was a part of Spanish America. They were so ill treated that they rebelled and won their independence from the mother country in 1824. Texas now began to encourage immigration and soon many Americans had settled within its boundaries. It grew so rapidly that in 1830 Mexico became jealous of her and passed measures prohibiting immigration from the United States.

During the same year President Jackson sent General Houston to Texas. His motive is not known but it was thought by prominent men to have been for the purpose of inciting the Texans to revolt from Mexico. Whether this was the fact or not, the Texans did revolt soon after his arrival and overthrew the Federal authorities. They then established a provisional government at Austin, with Houston Commander-in-chief. Immigration was again encouraged in order to augment the resources of the Republic.

Two years afterward Santa Anna usurped the Presidency of the Mexican government and tried to re-conquer Texas and Coahuila, but failed. Immediately after the battle of San Jacinto, April 2, 1836, a Republic was declared for the second time. In August of the same year, the Texans voted themselves the whole territory between the United States and the Rio Grande, from source to mouth.

During this time Secretary Forsythe had made several offers to the Mexican government for the purchase of Texas. This would have given us Texas, but more important still, it would have established a fixed boundary along our southwestern frontier. All of these attempts failed and for several years nothing was done to carry out the annexation.

1 On page 4.

In August 1843, President Tyler sent Sec. Upshur to Mexico and instructed him to propose annexation to the Texans. They were asked and declared their willingness to accept the provision, provided that this country would assist them in a pre-supposed attack upon them by Mexico. This was agreed to and Texas was declared a part of the United States. Troops were sent there to ward off the expected attack, but none came.

2

On January 8, 1844, the Senate took up the ratification of the treaty to annex Texas. It was put to a vote and defeated, 16--35. Breese and Semple, the Illinois delegates, supported the measure.

On May 13, Senator Benton of Missouri, introduced into the Senate the first important annexation resolution. It was laid on the table by a vote of 25--20. The Illinois Senators voting nay. Although it failed, it had a very important bearing on the question, in that its language shows the trend of the popular feeling of the states bordering on the Mississippi River. In substance it declared that Texas ought, because of its great resources, to be annexed to the United States, and that we ought to defend it from all the insults and injuries which Mexico might inflict upon it, as the result of such action.

- 1 a. Schouler's History of U. S., IV, 247, 254, 302, 440, 444, 447, 457, 459, 465, 470, 467, 476, 482, 484, 518, 521, 543
- b. Rhodes' History of U. S., I. 75--85.
- c. Von Holsts' History of U. S. II, 548--714. III, 61--116.
- d. Thorpe's Constitutional History of Amer. People, I, 258, 335, 344.

2 Cong. Globe, -28 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 1, page 698.

3 Cong Globe, -28 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 1, page 719.

¹ Senator Breese was the first Congressman from Illinois to express himself on the annexation of Texas. ² This he did in the Senate on June 3, 1844. He was heartily in favor of the Benton resolution. He looked upon it as a good sound legal measure and one that was demanded by the best interests of this country. He considered Texas a sovereign and independent territory and therefore having the legal right to annex itself to any country and that that country had a perfect right to admit it, if it so desired. Because of the proximity of that territory to this country, and because of the nature of its inhabitants, it was naturally inclined towards us. Another point brought out by him in favor of annexation, was that it would bring to this country so many agricultural, commercial, and political advantages.

It cannot be said that Mr Breese was a very radical supporter of this policy. He would have favored neither war nor bloodshed to have put it into force, but would have preferred much rather, timely negotiation.

On December 10, 1844, Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, introduced the first great joint resolution for this annexation. For a month and a half joint resolutions appeared in the Senate in rapid succession. Most of them, however, were of little value and were immediately laid on the table. McDuffie's measure met the same ³ fate by a vote of 27--19. Breese and Semple voting nay.

¹ Cong. Globe, - 28 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 1. App'd'x, pp 537

² *Sidney Breese was born in New York in 1798. When quite young he moved to Illinois. When twenty years old he began the study of law. At first he failed miserably, but he kept at it and soon became a lawyer of considerable ability. In 1835, he was elected judge, in which capacity he rendered a very important decision in the celebrated McClernand-Field

4

5

Almost a month afterward, Representative Douglas brought forward the first one of his six joint resolutions for annexation. It provided for the annexation of Texas as a territory in conformity with the treaty of 1803 for the purchase of Louisiana; for the maintenance of the present government officials; and for the disposal of its public lands.

Four days afterward in support of his joint resolution, he made the greatest speech that was delivered by any Illinois member of Congress on the question. He was extremely radical and went much farther than his colleague Senator Breese. His strong feeling and eloquence may be seen very clearly in glancing at a few of his words which have become famous the country over. "I do not", said he, "favor the violation of any treaty stipulation, but I do want to see Great Britain and the last remains of royal authority driven from North America. I want to see an ocean bound republic and then there can be no disputes over boundary lines". In uttering these words, he spoke as he felt and he would willingly have shouldered his musket, if necessary, to have upheld the sentiment which he believed beat in every true American heart.

At all times, he vigorously supported the administration of President Polk, in the measures it adopted for the retention of Texas.

case. In 1843, he was one of the five democratic supreme judges chosen by the legislature. Two years afterward he was chosen United States Senator for three consecutive terms. His active work while in office made him very popular among the people of his state. He was a thorough democrat and always upheld very enthusiastically the principles of his party.

*Authorities, A. Davidson and Stuve' History of Ill., 454, 460
583, 684, 715,

6

On January 15, 1845, Representative Douglas presented a resolution for the re-annexation of Texas, as a state of the Union. On the same day, Representative Hardin made known his views on this policy. He showed his true Whig spirit by opposing this policy with great vigor. As with the other Whigs, his strongest objection was, that this acquisition would greatly augment the already too large extent of slavery territory. Further he did not favor the idea of paying off the greater part of the old debt of Texas. It was enormous, having been increased for decades by the expenses of many civil wars and scarcely a dollar of it had ever been paid by the Texan government. It is not difficult to perceive that Mr Hardin was a loyal Whig. Although his colleagues from Illinois supported annexation, he alone opposed it at every opportunity and stood by his party principles. The idea of acquisition seemed to him national ambition and greed rather than patriotism and honor.

The remaining Illinois Congressmen deserve mention only as a whole. The Democrats and Whigs supported or opposed the annexation as their party principles demanded. Although not expressing themselves verbally, their votes on the different measures coming up for passage, expressed clearly their feelings towards annexation.

b. Moses, Illinois, Historical and Statistical, I. 370, 403, 445, 455, II, 569, 573, 972, 1165.

c. Bateman and Selby, Historical Encl. of Ill. 59—60.

3 Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 1, pp 665—707.

4 a. Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 2 session, pp 65—95 and appdx. pp 65.

b. Sheahan's Douglas, pages 72—90.

c. Von Holst, History of U. S. , II. page 710.

5 *S. A. Douglas was born in Vermont in 1813. When twenty years old he moved to Illinois, without friends, fortune, or profession and settled in Morgan Co. It was at this time that he began the study of law and soon became very active in political affairs. In 1836 he was elected to the

8

On January 25, 1845, the joint resolution with its amendments was put to a vote in the House and passed 120--98. Smith, McClermand, Ficklin, Wentworth, Douglas and Hoge supported the measure, whereas Hardin opposed it. It was then presented in the Senate, where it received the great Walker Amendment. After ample discussion it was voted upon and passed 27--25. Breese and Semple supporting it. President Tyler then signed it and it became a law. This decisive action on the part of our government aided greatly in bringing on the war with Mexico. During the last part of the war, a resolution was introduced into the Senate providing for an appropriation of three millions of dollars to defray the expenses of an additional body of troops, which were to be sent to Mexico. ⁹ On Februrary 5, 1847, Senator Berrien of Georgia introduced a resolution which he had intended should have been tacked on to the three million bill. It provided, "That it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of Congress, in making this appropriation, that the war with Mexico ought not to be prosecuted by this government with any view of the dismemberment of that Republic or to the acquisition by conquest of any portion of her territory; that this government ever desires to maintain and preserve peaceful and friendly relations with all nations and particularly with the neighboring Republic of Mexico; will always be ready to enter into negotiations with a view to terminating the present unhappy conflict on terms

legislature and in 1840 judge of the supreme court. Three years afterward he was chosen United States Representative for two terms and seven years afterwards United States Senator for three. Only a few of his strong points can be mentioned, namely his ability to adapt himself to his surroundings, his personal magnetism, and his boldness and rapidity of thought. He is remembered especially for his activity in the famous Illinois Central Railroad's land grant case, in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and in the celebrated senatorial contest between



which shall secure the just right and preserve inviolate the national honor of the United States and of Mexico". On March 1, the resolution was voted upon and defeated 24--29. Breese opposed the measure and Semple did not vote. This goes to show all the more clearly that Breese favored the annexation of Territory and that he would not support a measure which tended to prevent the acquisition of territory after it had been conquered.

The last great question of the first sub-period was concerned with the Oregon territory. It was a dispute over the rights and claims to this region between the United States and Great Britain. The latter based her claims upon discovery, declaring that Captain Vanouwer had discovered it in 1790. The United States granted the claim that the British captain was there first, but not that he had carried on any explorations south of Puget Sound, until some time after Captain Gray had sailed along the coast and had entered the harbors in the name of this country. Thus we claimed that our rights to this territory were more legal and indisputable than were those of Great Britain. This claim by discovery was further strengthened by the complete exploration of this region by Captain Lewis and Clark in 1805. Six years afterward there began a dull immigration to this territory. The emigrants were so cruelly treated by the hunters that the people were not very enthusiastic about immigrating to that region until laws of protection were passed to

himself and Mr Lincoln.

*Davidson and Stuve', -454, 457, 460, 639, 641, 685, 697, 707, 867, 870.

2Hoses, - I, 407, 410, 444, 445, 508, II, 573, 685, 687, 611, 620, 621, 633, 643, 1169.

3Sheahan--Douglas, - I, 60. 4Bateman and Selby, --135--136.

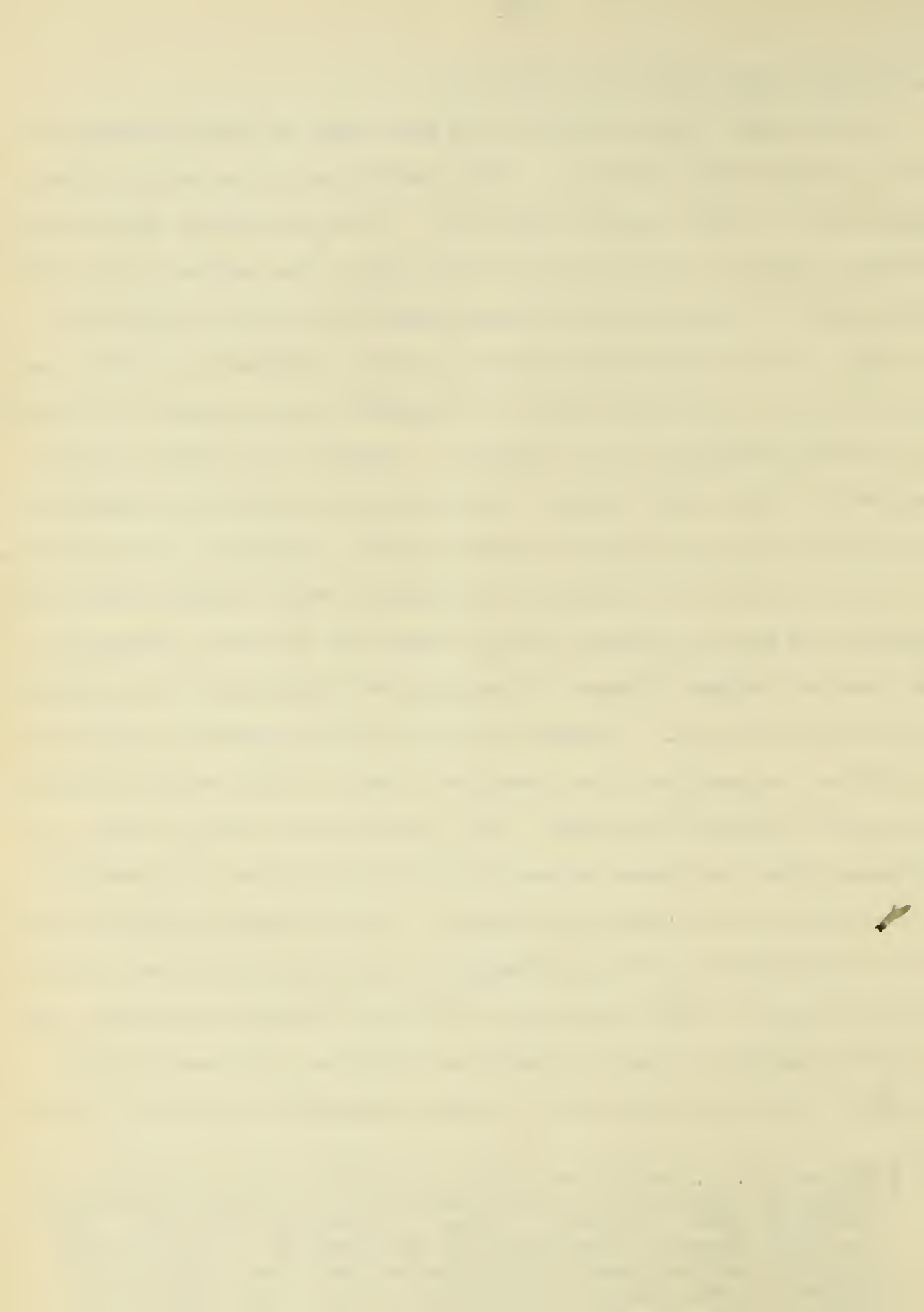
1 Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 2 session, page 141 and 274 in appdx.

to protect their lives and property.

Since 1812, three attempts had been made to divide Oregon at the line 49° north latitude. This would have given each claimant about half of the disputed territory. Each time Great Britain objected, arguing that it gave to this country the valley of the Columbia River, which she claimed was rightfully hers by discovery. In 1818, a treaty was made between the two disputants by which each country was to have the right of occupying this territory as long as it was satisfactory to both parties. Further, if either country desired to break this treaty, it must give to the other country notice of the abrogation twelve months before carrying it into effect.

This condition of affairs intermingled with frequent conflicts between the English hunters and the American settlers, continued for several decades without attracting the attention of the states, east of the Rockies. Finally Missouri and Michigan were aroused. The former spread the alarm among her sister states and in Congress through her Senator, Mr Linn. He, in the early part of 1838, introduced into the Senate a resolution providing for the immediate occupation and settlement of Oregon. In substance it declared for the establishment of forts throughout this region, for the attachment of Oregon to the territory of Iowa for judicial purposes, and for the granting of land to American settlers. He pressed the measure from time to time and finally succeeded in getting a vote

7*Colonel J. J. Hardin was born at Frankfort, Ky. in 1810. He moved to Jacksonville when a young man and began to practice law with great success. He was a member of the 10th, 11th, and 12th General Assemblies and represented the Springfield district in the House of Representatives from 1843 to 1845. He was an able lawyer, and possessed very rare powers as a speaker. At the time of his death, he was the leading Whig of Illinois.



on it in February 1843. ² It was passed by a vote of 24--22, the Illinois senators supporting it from beginning to end. It then was sent to the House, where it was dropped.

³ This question first attracted the attention of an Illinois Congressman on December 20, 1842. This Congressman was Senator ⁴ S. McRoberts. His appeal was made in favor of the Linn Resolution. He spoke at great length upon the strength and validity of our claims and upon the weakness of those of Great Britain as compared with ours. He favored immediate occupation and settlement and no longer delay, because, all the time, Great Britain was strengthening her claims by this delay and procrastination. He did not believe in war and did not think war would be necessary if we would act immediately and show a bold front. Great Britain would then see our determination to have Oregon and would back down rather than risk the consequences of a bloody war with this country. He was a far sighted man and believed in preparing for the future. He thought this territory would be needed for our posterity because we were growing so rapidly in numbers, that before many decades, this country would be over populated and would demand a greater expanse of land.

⁵ On January 30, 1843, ⁶ Senator Young delivered a stirring speech supporting the eloquent words of Senator McRoberts of several days before. His few words were directed against the objection brought forward by some members of the senate, that the passage of the Linn

⁷ Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 2 session, Pt. 1, page 194.

⁸ Cong. Globe, 29 Congress, 2 session, pp 309, 310, 325, 326, 328, 329, 314, 315, 475.

¹⁰ Cong. globe, 29 Congress, 2 session, pp 545.

¹ a. Schouler, IV, 401, 467, 498, 504, 571, 529.

b. Rhodes, I, 86. c. Von Holst, III, 29--61, 396--401, 159, 177, 195, 273--275.

resolution would be viewed by Great Britain as an intrusion upon the treaties of 1818 and 1827. He thought there was no way in which that country could view this measure as an infraction of the existing treaty between that government and this, because all that it provided for, was the protection and encouragement of our settlers and the equalization of the rights and privileges of the respective constituents. He regarded the resolution as he was sure Great Britain would look at it, simply as a great peace measure. His views upon the validity of our claims and upon the acquisition of Oregon, as a necessity in the future, were exactly those of his colleague Senator McRoberts.

1

The House was not to be outdone by the Senate in regard to the activity of its members on the question, and responded to the occasion with an eloquent address by Representative Reynolds ⁸. He never had been in favor of the settlement of territorial questions with Great Britain by negotiation, because we have always lost in all diplomatic deals with that country. She has gotten the upper hand at every turn, and would be glad to do it again if she were only given the opportunity. We cannot expect fair treatment from such a nation and therefore he would not consent to any negotiations with that country:

2 Cong. Globe, 27 Congress, 3 session Page 240.

3 Cong. Globe, 27 Congress, 3 session, pages 100 and 188, and app'd'x, pp 86.

4 S. McRoberts was born at Jonesboro, Monroe Co. Ill. in 1799. He received a good practical education. At the age of twenty two, he began to study law and applied himself so closely to his study that it was not long before he became a lawyer of no small ability. In 1828, he was elected State Senator and it was at this time that he became a staunch democrat. In 1841, he was elected to the U. S. Senate and held that office for two years. He had a stubborn will, a high ambition and an unbounded energy. *

He was very forcible on that point and felt that if the occupation and settlement of Oregon would bring war, then let war come, for we could hope for more by war than by diplomatic negotiation. He wanted no more joint occupations, because past experiences with such methods show very injurious results to this country. He hoped that the government would act immediately and look more to national honor than to dollars and cents.

⁹ As time passed by and the discussions became more and more spirited, the Illinois men became more and more radical. One of the leading agitators of the question in the House was Representative ¹⁰Wentworth. On January 24, 1844, he turned himself loose and delivered an eloquent address upholding the acquisition. He displayed a strong war spirit and advocated immediate action, by force if necessary. He had voted against the resolution to give Great Britain a year's notice of abrogation before enforcing it, because he was strictly opposed to giving her any time at all. He wanted no more compromises of American soil; no more dismemberments of our country.

¹¹ Mr Wentworths' colleague, Representative Douglas appears again with all his eloquence. He was not in favor of yielding up an inch of Oregon, but rather, on the contrary, advocated the seizure of Canada and the expulsion of all British authority from North America. He was opposed to any agreement between the United States and any European power, whereby the former will be bound to do or not to do

* 'Davidson and Stuve', --322, 329, 680.

² Moses, --329, 446, 449, 1147, 1177, 1198.

³ Bateman and Selby, Page 367

⁴ Cong. Globe, 27 Congress, 3 session, Page 220.

⁵ R. M. Young was born in Kentucky in 1796. Moved to Jonesboro Ill and was admitted to the bar in 1817. He was a Representative in the 2nd General Assembly. In 1837 he was elected United States Senator and served until 1843, when he was commissioned Justice of the Supreme Court. In 1847 he resigned to become



certain things respecting the future of any part of this continent. It seems that Douglas was in favor of leaving the government perfectly free to act just as the conditions and interests of this country shall at any time demand.

He, together with most of the Congressmen not heretofore mentioned, were loyal supporters of "54° 40' or fight". His feeling toward this principle may be seen from the text of a resolution, which he presented December 19, 1845. It stated that the title to any part of Oregon, south of 54° 40' north latitude, was not open to compromise, whereby part of the said territory might be surrendered.

12

Representative Baker, one of the remaining Congressmen, although a Whig, was as strong in his support of this radical principle as were his Democratic colleagues.

13

On January 16, 1846, Representative Ramsey of Pennsylvania, made an amendment to resolution of abrogation. It declared, "That the Oregon question is no longer a subject of negotiation". It was voted upon and defeated 10--146, Hoge, Smith, Douglas, McClernand and Wentworth supporting the measure. After the rejection of many amendments, one was passed by the committee for the abrogation of the convention of 1827. The vote was 110--93. Illinois men voted yea. It was then presented in the House by the Committee and passed.

a General Land Office Commissioner at Washington.*

*Bateman and Selby, 603 and 604

Noses, 345, 349, 350, 403, 405, 408, 429, 453, 466, 565. II, 1146, 1147, 1198.

Davidson and Stuve', 444, 682.

7 Cong. Globe, 27 Congress, 3 session, pages 174 and 224 and app'd'x page 110.

8 John Reynolds was born in Pennsylvania in 1789. He moved with his parents to Kaskaskia in 1800. He became a great war scout and passed through the War of 1812 without losing his life.

Then the Senate refused to receive it. At this point, the House introduced another resolution leaving the right of abrogation to "the discretion of the President". It was at this time that Representative McClernand¹⁴ raised a very vigorous objection to the measure because he thought it gave too much power to the President. He was a strong "54° 40' or fight" leader and opposed the 49° parallel because it was a surrender of right and a compromise of honor. He did not want the President mixed up in the question any more than was absolutely necessary. In spite of his vigorous protest, the resolution was passed by a vote of 142--46. To this the Senate soon agreed.

¹⁵In the meantime the representatives of the two governments had come to a settlement of the boundary line at 49° north latitude. The President asked the advice of the Senate, which by a vote of 38--12 advised him to accept the treaty. In June the treaty was presented in the Senate and passed 41--14¹⁶, Illinois opposing the treaty.

The second sub-period 1846--1861 has to do with the questions concerning California and New Mexico, Panama, Lower California, Nicaragua, Cuba, and the land included in the Gadsden purchase.

The character of the attempts to acquire these territories was varied. The attempts to get California, New Mexico, and the territory included in the Gadsden purchase were made by diplomatic negotiations, whereas those of the other territories were made by filibusters.

*In 1825 he was elected for two terms in the Legislature and five years afterward he became governor. In 1840 he was elected

United States Representative and served two terms in that office
¹Moses I, 292, 343, 348, 507, 584, 357, 384, II, 1146, 1182, 1199

²Davidson and Stuve', 274, 301, 363, 364, 366, 444.

³Bateman and Selby, 449.

⁴Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 1 session, appdx, p 89, 3 session, pp 136 of the app'd'x.

¹
During this period of trouble and frequent~~ly~~ warfare, Illinois was represented in Congress by

Senators.

1. S. A. Douglas, 1847-61, Democrat, Quincy.
2. J. Shields, 1849--55, Democrat, Springfield.
3. L. Trumbull, 1855--61, Republican, Belleville.

Representatives.

1. W. A. Richardson, 1847--57, Democrat, Rushville.
2. E. D. Baker, 1849--51, Whig, Springfield.
3. T. J. Turner, 1847--49, Democrat, Freeport.
4. A. B. Lincoln, 1847--49, Whig, Springfield.
5. W. H. Bissell, 1849--55, Democrat, Belleville.
6. T. R. Young, 1849--57, Democrat, Marshall.
7. T. L. Harris, 1849--51 and 1855--59, Petersburg.
8. Willis Allen, 1851--55, Democrat, Marion.
9. R. S. Moloney, 1851--53, Democrat, Belvidere.
10. Thomas Campbell, 1851--53, Democrat, Galena.
11. O. R. Ficklin, 1851--53, Democrat, Charleston.
12. Richard Yates, 1851--55, Whig, Jacksonville.
- 13.. E. B. Washburne, 1853--61, Whig and Repub. Galena.
14. Jno. Wentworth, 1853--55, Democrat, Chicago.
15. IN. Norton, 1853--57, Whig and Repub. Joliet.

10 John Wentworth* was born at Sandwich, New Hampshire in 1815. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1836 and moved to Chicago in the same year. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He served in Congress as a Democrat from 1843 to 1851 and from 1853 to 1855, but left the Democratic party on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and became a Republican. As such he served a term in Congress from 1865 to 1867.

* Moses II, 575--6, 588, 656, 1199, 1200.
Bateman and Selby, 583.

16. James Knox, 1853--57, Whig and Repub., Knoxville.
17. J. C. Allen, 1853--57, Democrat, Palestine.
18. J. H. Woodworth, 1855--57, Republican, Chicago.
19. J. L. Morrison, 1855--57, Whig, Belleville.
20. J. F. Farnsworth, 1857--61, Republican, Chicago.
21. S. S. Marshall, 1855--59, Democrat, McLeansboro.
22. C. Lovejoy, 1857--61, Republican, Princetown.
23. Wm. Kellogg, 1857--61, Republican, Canton.
24. J. N. Morris, 1857--61, Democrat, Quincy.
25. Aaron Shaw, 1857--59, Democrat, Lawrence-.
26. J. F. Robinson, 1859--61, Democrat, Marshall.
27. P. B. Fouke, 1859--61, Democrat, Belleville.
28. J. A. Logan, 1859--61, Democrat, Benton.

2

The first question to be treated was that dealing with California and New Mexico. This question began to assume considerable importance in October, 1842, when a part of our navy under Commodore Jones was sent to California, where soon after it arrived, it struck a blow at the Mexican possessions there. With a hostile newspaper which he had accidentally picked up as an excuse, he seized Monterey. Immediately he saw his great error and gave the town back to Mexico again.

Failing to find a good excuse for seizing and holding California, another scheme was tried with far better success. This was the occupation and settlement of that region. Soon emigrants by the thousands began to flock in and although Mexico tried to prevent it, the tide could not be checked. Shortly afterward, hostilities with

¹³ Cong. Globe, 28 Congress, 2 session, pages 225--226.

⁶ Sheahan's Douglas, pages 91 and 92.

Mexico broke out and General Kearney over ran and conquered this whole region for the United States.

On February 23, 1848, President Polk presented to the United States, the treaty of peace with Mexico, negotiated at Guadalupe, Hidalgo by N. P. Frist. After considerable debate it was voted upon and passed 38--14.³ Senators Breese and Douglas voted Nay. This action on the part of the two Senators was due to the fact that they did not favor the article of the treaty, which provided that no change could be made in the boundary line between the United States and Mexico in the future, unless both countries approved of it. They believed that in time to come we should have the desire to annex more territory on the southwestern frontier and that this could not be done on account of this permanent obstacle.

⁴Not quite satisfied with the southern boundary of the United States, Mr Gadsden, Minister to Mexico, attempted to remove a few of the irregularities along its course by means of a purchase. In August of 1853, with a pretended railway through the Gila valley in view, he concluded a treaty making a new and more southerly boundary and in return paid Mexico \$10,000,000 for the trade. This treaty came up before Congress in June 1854. A resolution was introduced into the House as amended by the Senate, giving the President power to fulfill this treaty. It was voted upon and passed 103--62.⁵

12E. D. Baker was born in London, England, February 24, 1811.

When very young he came to America and settled at Belleville, Illinois. He then moved to Springfield and was elected to the Legislature from that place for the 10th, 12th, and 13th Assemblies. In 1845 he was elected to Congress, but resigned the next year for a colonelcy in the army. In 1848 he was again elected to Congress from Galena. He went to Oregon in 1856 and was elected to the United States Senate from there in 1860. He was a member of the Whig party, but believed in sacrificing his party principles for the welfare of the country.*

James C. Allen, Willis Allen, and Richardson supported the bill, whereas, Norton, Knox, Washburne, and Wentworth opposed it. The opposition were Whigs, with the exception of Wentworth. Then the measure was presented in the Senate for debate. After considerable discussion of the measure it was voted upon and passed 34--6. Douglas--Yea, Shields, absent or not voting.

For several years the filibustering idea had been gaining quite a foothold in San Francisco and in Southern California. It reached a climax in October 1853, when William Walker collected a small body of men and proceeded to seize LaPaz, several miles south of the boundary lines. He set up a government there, but was forced to yield and to flee because his expected re-enforcements did not reach him in time. He was captured, tried and acquitted.

This spirit had a divergent effect upon the Congressmen from Illinois. Although not favoring the spirit at all, some expected good results from it in time, while some, like Senator Shields, were exceedingly pained to learn that such an outrage had occurred and prayed that it should not be allowed to happen again.

The attempt to secure the isthmus of Panama was the result of a daring project to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans by a railway across the isthmus. This would shorten the route from east to west by many thousands of miles. The work, begun in 1850, was pushed rapidly and completed in 1855. This action on the part

*Moses, I, 407, 426, 439, 450, 486, 490, 493, II, 561, 1164, 1199, 1200, 501.

²Davidson and Stuve', 512, 525, 526, 538, 542.

³Bateman and Selby, 33.

¹³Sheahan's Douglas, pages 97--98.

¹⁴J. A. McClernand was born in Kentucky in 1812. When four years old he moved to Shawneetown where he began to study law and was admitted to the bar in 1832. He was elected to the Legislature

of the United States culminated in the famous Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. It was made for the purpose of establishing some fixed relations, respecting affairs in Central America. After considerable discussion it was voted upon and passed 42--11. Shields--yea, Douglas--nay. Douglas's opposition to the measure was based upon two things, first, that every article of this treaty was a negation and a repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine; second, that it was a treaty with a European country, for a part of this continent and he could not tolerate such a stipulation.

The other active men on the question, Senator Shields and Representative Baker, were faithful supporters of the treaty and believed that they were acting for the best interest of this country.

¹⁰ Wrapped in the idea that it was necessary, for the welfare of this country, to increase the extent of slave territory, William Walker organized a band and began private war upon Nicaragua. Upon his arrival in 1855, he forced the Presidency of that republic upon General Rivas. A little later, Rivas resigned and Walker usurped the Presidency for himself. He issued a decree legalizing slavery in 1856. This had a serious effect upon the inhabitants and he began to lose strength very rapidly. In December 1856, he, with only a few of his followers, was surrounded by the rebels and captured.

in 1836, and again in 1840 and 1842. In the latter year, he was elected to Congress serving four consecutive terms. He took a very active part in the civil war, especially in Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas.*

*Moses, I, 370, 407, 450, 458, II, 572-5, 1177, 1199, 1200, 1150
1204, 981, 987.

2Davidson and Stuve', 454, 600, 649.

3Bateman and Selby, 310.

11

This question was presented to Congress, May 11, 1856, in the form of a resolution which ran thus: "Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate, copies of all correspondence between this government and our Minister at Nicaragua, not heretofore communicated". On the same day, the only Illinois members to become greatly interested in the question, Senator Douglas expressed his views. He believed that the country had committed a grave error in arresting William Walker, because he had established in Nicaragua a government which is more stable and sound than any which she has enjoyed. It was also wrong to restrain our citizens from emigrating to Central America, especially to Nicaragua, whose government has offered and is still offering such great inducements to them.

15 Sheahan's Douglas, page 98.

16 Congressional Globe, 29 Congress, 1 session, page 1224.

1 Moses, History of Illinois, II, page 1198--1200.

21 Schouler, IV, 247, 445, 498, 528, 532, V, 130, 147, 163, 183, 186, 196.

2 Rhodes, I, 93 and 111.

2 Von Holst, III, 406, 414, 109, 260, 332, 345.

3 Sheahan's Douglas, Page 90.

4 Rhodes, I, 7 Von Holst, V, 6--9.

5 Cong. Globe, 33 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 2, page 1565.

6 Cong. Globe, Vol. 23, pt. 1, pages 206 and 208.

2 Jos. Wallace' Baker, pages 46--49.

3 Von Holst, III, 332.

1 James Shields was born in Ireland in 1810 and emigrated to Kaskaskia in 1826. He began to practice law at that place and soon became a prominent lawyer. In 1836, he was elected to the Legislature and in 1843 he became Judge of the State Supreme Court. Six years afterward he was elected to Congress by the Democrats and served until 1855. In 1879, he was chosen to fill out the vacancy of a senator from Missouri. Thus he had served in the Senate from three different states.

* Moses, I, 407, 456, 490, 510, II, 551, 563, 1146, 1198.

Although that government had been established by filibusters, he did not believe it was good policy to tear it down. He was opposed to filibustering as much as any of his colleagues, but when it had once produced good results, he believed in allowing such government to exist.

12

Since the attempts to get Nicaragua had failed miserably, the southerners turned their eyes in another direction for more territory. They were induced to fit out an expedition against Cuba, through the efforts of the smooth tongued Narciso Lopez. In addition, he was made its leader. He made several attempts to capture the island, but failed each time and finally was captured by the Spaniards and put to death.

These failures killed the filibustering spirit. The people now began to look for the acquisition of this island through diplomatic negotiations. The Minister to Spain, Pierre Soule, made several attempts to purchase it, but was not successful. Because of these failures to get Cuba and the determination to have it, a conference of the ministers to England, France, and Spain was called at Ostend on October 10, 1854 to decide upon further proceedings for the acquisition. They drew up a report proposing a bold stroke on the

1 Schouler, V, 174, 310, 340, 365, 416, 454.

2 Rhodes, I, 199. 3 Von Holst, II, 153--5.

4 Sheahan's Douglas, 99.

10 Schouler, VI, 174, 310, 340, 365, 416, 454,

1 Rhodes, I, 199, 200, II, 202 and 289.

3 Von Holst, V, 410, 471, 478, VI, 158, 159, 197, 199.

11 Cong. Globe, 34 Congress, 1 and 2 session, Pt. 2, 1069 - 1072.

12 Schouler, V, 214, 298, 299, 312, 313, 341 452,

2 Rhodes, I, 216, 220, II, 9, 12, 19, 42, 289, 351.

3 Von Holst, III, 440, 443, 466, 530, IV, 43--61, 437, 443, 530

part of our government. It was never carried out and Cuba remained a possession of Spain for several decades after this famous conference.

13

In connection with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Senator Douglas expressed himself on the acquisition of Cuba. He was in favor of allowing Cuba to remain a part of the mother country as long as no attempts were made to transfer it to another European country. But as soon as this is tried he thought it was our duty to step in and prevent such a transfer. In 1858, he had become more radical and favored the seizure of Cuba as soon as a fair and just opportunity presented itself. Mr Douglas favored expansion as far as was consistent with our interest and with the increase and development of our population and resources.

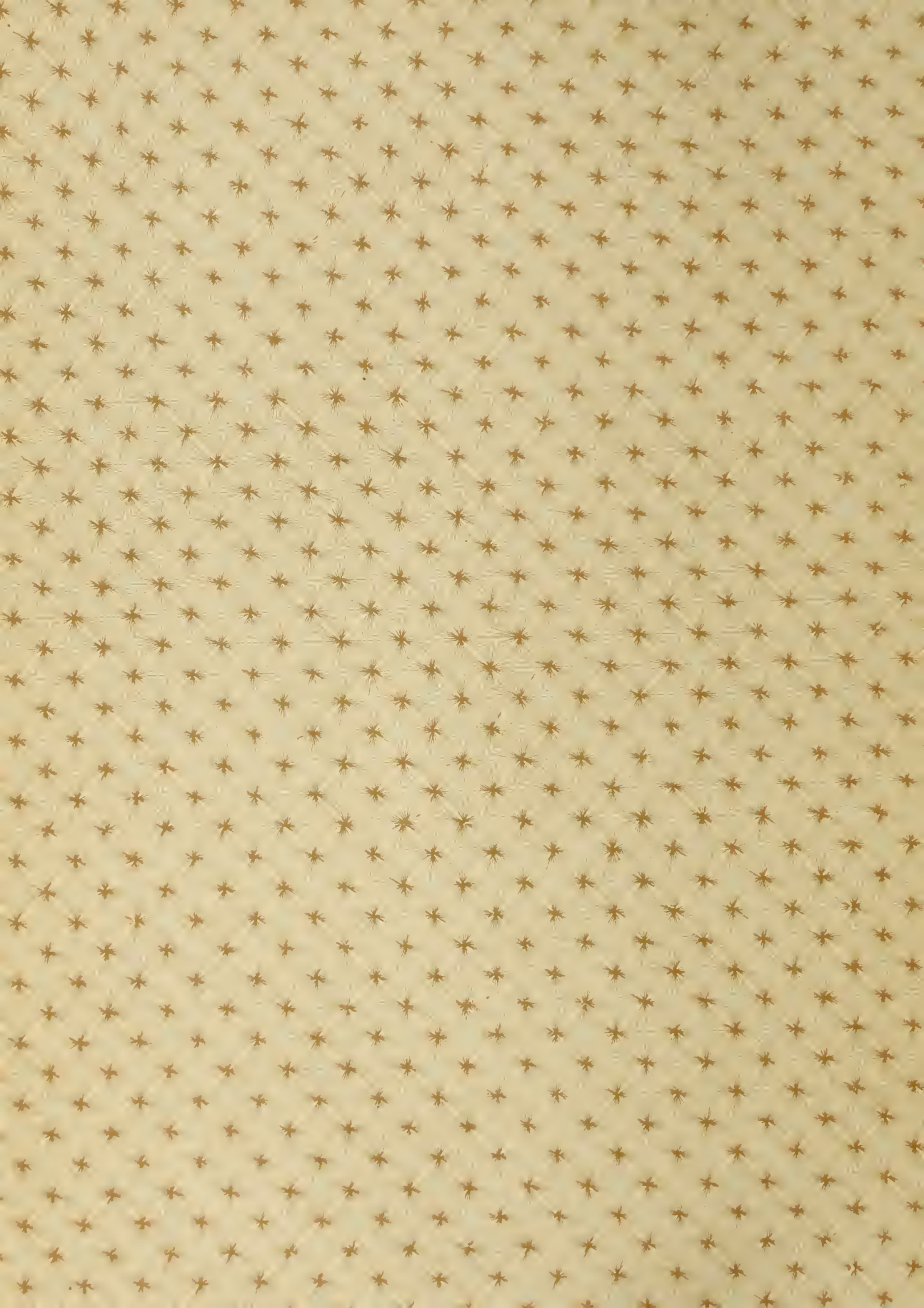
14

On February 2, 1859, Representative Taylor of Louisiana introduced a resolution in the House for the acquisition of Cuba by negotiation, and for its being incorporated with the Union in the event of its being acquired. About the same time, a similar measure was introduced by Mr Slidell of Louisiana. This goes to show that Congress was beginning to become active on the acquisition of Cuba, and there would probably have been some decisive action taken had not the questions of war interrupted it and all interest in Cuba was dropped for a few years.

13Sheahan's Douglas, 110 and 122-3.

24Congressional Globe, 35 Congress, 1 session, Pt. 1, - 747.

In conclusion it can be stated that most of the Illinois men in Congress were active and took much interest in the questions of ~~to~~ the period. In acting, they always took into consideration the interest and welfare of their country. That was the key-note of their labors. They were all true partisans and acted on these questions as their party principles demanded. The most prominent men of the aggregation were, Douglas, Wentworth, Breese, McClernand, Baker, and McRoberts. All of them were supporters of all the acquisitions made by national diplomacy and some, Douglas especially, of those attempted by filibusters.





UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 079092836